

M. A. Chakko and T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar, Dr. A. R. Menon and Messrs. Thomas Manjuran and V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar, besides the Government Member in charge and the mover."
Question put and agreed to.

Deputy President.—Period?

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—Six months as in the case of the other.

Deputy President.—There are certain provisions which may require change.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Quite so. We want to introduce something new.

Deputy President.—I nominate the Government Advocate as the Chairman of the Committee.

Resolutions on Matters of General Public Interest.

10. Free use of roads. (cont.)

Deputy President.—Then resolutions.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Sir, I rise to support the resolution of yesterday. Sir, I think it is rather an anachronism to have such a rule in the State. I don't think the real objection is either on the part of the students or their parents, as some Hon'ble Members stated the other day.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—I did not make that statement, Sir.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Some Hon'ble Members said. As certain Hon'ble Members stated the other day, I don't think parents, who want to give higher education to their children, that is, who want their children to imbibe modern ideas, the breath of modern civilisation, care very much whether their children, who have to sit side by side with boys of all castes and creeds, care whether they live in the same hostel. This matter has become rather monotonous. I certainly recognise that there is a possibility of sentiment. Is that sentiment so strong, when we find that, in the Sister State of Travancore and in British India, cosmopolitan hostels are the rule, and those hostels are being very very freely attended, in fact crowded. When it comes to a question of boarding, it is a different matter. The two things are fundamentally different. Eating together and living together are different things. I don't go to the extent of compelling people to eat together. I don't think there is much objection for the other. The reasons that the Director of Public Instruction have been giving us do not appear to me to be convincing. This sort of facing the question half-heartedly is not what should be done. What is the real difficulty? Here we are at the beginning of an academical year. We have got

three or four big buildings here, either Government or rented, which are being utilised by students. Supposing the main building is started as a cosmopolitan hostel. It is quite likely that a few students may raise serious objection to live there. Well, there are smaller buildings. As a starting measure those students, who have got particular objection, I am sure their number will be very small, they may be asked to live in one of those small buildings. Is there any meaning in setting apart such a large building for the use of one community? What is the objection, when probably 80 or 90 per cent of the students of that community may not object about living side by side with the other students? That is the proper way to go into the matter. This is a resolution which is accepted in principle by the Government. If there were serious objections during the course of an academical year, those objections must be considered to have gone now. About a hundred students can live in the big building. There are two Government hostels.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—More than hundred can live.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—In the next year's batch some 10 or 15 may be so very caste-bound that they care not to live with the others. You can ask them to go into the smaller buildings and they can live there. We can thus respect the sentiments of the students.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—There will be no space in any of the smaller buildings.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—The final year students will all go away.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—The new batch will come.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—When the new batch comes, you may ask them to go and live in the small building.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—What about accommodation and messing?

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—That is a thing which the Government will have to fix. If there is such an outcry against a system and the Government accepts the reasonableness of the outcry, should small matters like the difficulty of putting up kitchens stand in the way of a proper solution? I am sure, when the University Commission came round, our system must have appeared to them rather curious.

Mr. K. P. Kannan Nayar.—Why! From the recommendations published in the papers they were condemning this.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—I remember Lala Lajpat Rai was shocked to find this sort of thing going on here, not to

speaking of Mahatma Gandhi. If we can get out of the difficulty easily, why not the Government welcome the suggestion and follow it? This is a thing in which, if the Government will not lead, the public lead may be accepted. There are a great many Brahmin students in the Victoria Hostel, ever so many in the Trivandrum hostel, a great many in the Mysore hostel. They are living together with students of other castes. Where is the particular virtue in making Cochin an exception and opening us to the ridicule of the outside world? After all, what is collegiate education? Probably Government wants to continue collegiate education as collegiate instruction. If it is broadening the minds of the students and the enlarging of their viewpoints, then certainly this sort of thing will not help them. I would say, rather than obstruct or object to this measure, accept the lead of the public and follow it. I am aware, in this connection, that almost all the non-official-caste Hindu Members of this House are of this opinion. They are representatives of the public. Their voices must be considered to be authoritative in this matter. I do not know what you are going to do at Anappara. Are you going to start a Brahmin colony, a Nayar colony, etc.?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—I have made that point clear. Our scheme contemplates the construction of hostels on cosmopolitan lines.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Why not start right-away now? You have a big hostel here for all students of all castes and creeds. If there are particular students who are keen on not residing there, let not those few stand in the way of those that want to live together. As a matter of fact, there is another important matter also to be considered. If we want to get this country out of the trammels of caste and creed,

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Is there not a cosmopolitan hostel attached to the Union College?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—I think there is.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—As a matter of fact, in these days of national self-consciousness, why should the Government stand out like this, a Government which we all pride ourselves to be one of the most enlightened Governments of India? I am strongly for the motion for these reasons. I wish and hope that the Government will consider these suggestions not in a spirit of hostility but in a spirit of co-operation, with an idea to solve the question which has perennially cropped up in this House. I am sure, if our enlightened Director of Public Instruction takes up the matter seriously, he can easily and satisfactorily solve the problem.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Sir, I regret very much that I have to oppose this resolution. The resolution

consists of two parts. It relates to roads as well as to hostels. With respect to roads, I understand, that the roads which are reserved for the special communities are very limited. The reason for that reservation is that they are connected with temples where the other caste men cannot approach by customary usage. Then it might be asked why we should not open all the temples also to the other caste men.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—It is coming.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Why not allow Christians to go and pray in Hindu temples, or allow Hindus to go and pray in churches?

Mr. C. J. Mathew.—We allow you to go into our churches.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Why not *compel* Hindus to go and pray in churches?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—No compulsion anywhere.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Again, why not compel Muhammadans to go and pray in temples or compel Hindus to go and pray in Mosques? All these questions crop up. Now, if those communities, whose entry into the temples are prohibited, are allowed to do so.—

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Have the Brahmins got temples here in Cochin?

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Yes.

The caste-Hindu community has got temples. The Christians have got churches. We have got our religious places for worship. Are you going to be tolerant in your religion or are you going to be intolerant? Do you want one religion only or do you allow people to follow their own religion? You ask me what religion has to do with roads? What has religion to do with this resolution? Now, this resolution relates to roads and the roads in which entrance has been prohibited are related to temples and temple is intimately related with religion. What is man without religion? Should we not have the freedom to follow our own religion? Should you compel a particular man to break the rules of his religion?

Mr. C. Barton Wright.—No.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—But the modern idea is that.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—What is the object of this resolution with respect to roads? Is it because that these communities feel that they have not sufficient means of communication? If that were so, there would be some meaning in the resolution. All people must have the necessary means of communication. If that is wanting, sure and certain the Government should see that people are provided with the

necessary means of communication. But the object of this resolution does not appear to be that. The object for the present is to get the temple roads opened to all castes and communities and the next move would be to effect entry into the temples. Is it not? I am sure I am right there. So my submission to this Council is that this resolution proceeds upon a spirit of religious intolerance, and if any Government has to be called a Government, it has to respect the religious sentiments of all the people concerned. No Government has lived which has adopted a policy of religious intolerance. Look at all the prior Governments. Look at the Government of Aurangazeeb, of Tippu, of Hyder Ali.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—What about the Government of Sree Rama? What about the Government of Sree Krishna and about the Government of Manu?

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—In all these days religion was followed strictly and religious tolerance was the rule.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Do those Governments survive now?

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Yes.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Then Aurangazeeb's Government also survives.

Mr. M. A. Chakko.—Let us all survive.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—The British Government has made it a rule that religious tolerance has to be strictly adhered to. The British Government does not in any way interfere with the religious faiths of their subjects. Everybody is allowed to follow his own religion provided it does not interfere with the beliefs of others. Now processions are not allowed to go near the mosques. Why is it? Because it will affect the religious sentiment of a section of the people.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—That is not correct, Sir.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—That sentiment has to be respected.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Processions are not allowed to go with music.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—And we hear in papers, reports of riots taking place in several parts of the country on account of the fact that processions are taken near the mosques. Religious sentiments of the people have to be respected if we are to go on amicably. If you are prepared to have a fight with other communities, and if you want to provoke dissensions between communities, this is the best method of doing that. First try to go through all the roads, then try to enter the temple and then try to convert Hindus into some other faith.

This is only the first attempt, making an inroad, a wedge, that is all. This is only the thin end of the wedge. Now persons who are mostly interested in this matter are members of the Hindu community who are non-caste men. Now it is with respect to these that this disability exists and that only with very few roads in the State, and the reason for that is that by religious custom and usage they have been prohibited entrance. It is not a matter in which there is any heart burning. It is only in this Council off and on we hear something about that. It has been sanctioned by custom and it has been in existence for a very very long time past, and no objection has been raised on this matter. No Hindu wants to go to churches. Why should they? If non-caste, Hindu men want to go to temples, they should build their own temples. They need not worship in the caste-Hindu temples.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I think that the caste hostel in Travancore was abolished and the cosmopolitan hostel was introduced.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—I am only coming to that. My submission is that, if any Government deserves the name of Government, and if it wants to govern all the communities together, it has to recognise, as a matter of fact, the existence of distinct and several communities in the State. That fact cannot be ignored however much we would wish that all communities are made into one without any distinction of caste or creed,—I would even say religion, without any distinction of religion; because religion has much to do with caste—however much we would wish that all are brought into one community, my submission is that it is not possible. If we somehow or other make all these castes into one, there will arise other distinctions, distinctions of class, the rich and the poor capitalists and labour. So, as long as time would exist, we are sure to have all these distinctions, either distinctions of caste or distinctions of class. My submission is that the Government has to take into consideration the sentiments of the people in these matters, if the other castes, if the lower castes want entry into these roads.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—I object to the terms lower and higher. No Member has a right to say higher or lower. I don't think he is higher.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—I believe the Hon'ble Member understood what I said. Language is intended to convey thought. I did not mean anything disparaging either to the Hon'ble Member or to his community. If the Hon'ble Member is prepared to give me a better and more decent expression, I am prepared to accept the same.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Caste and non-caste men.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—If the non-caste men want to get entry into the roads, it is purely on the ground of sentiment. It is on that very ground that the caste men are bent upon opposing this resolution.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Not all the caste-men, some of the representatives.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—I speak on behalf of all the caste men.

Then with respect to the hostels. There was a discussion in this Council with respect to wells and tanks.

Deputy President.—That is over.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—The arguments advanced with respect to that are quite similar to the arguments which have to be advanced in this matter.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Quite dissimilar. Here we deal only with the educated classes.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—I have already submitted that there are different communities here and that those different communities have to get on amicably without any hitch after all. The institution of a Government hostel has become necessary for the boarding and lodging of the students. Where they have got their own houses in the locality, people do not generally go to the hostels. We have got hotels in towns. We have got Brahmin hotels, Nayar hotels and hotels for different communities separately. Now the object of the Government should be to give such an institution to the students who come and board there. The Government promises to make every student at home in these hostels. The hostel is a substitute for his house. If the student has not got his own house in any centre where a school or college is situated, the Government puts up a building and gives him all sorts of conveniences, and then a proportion of the expenses defrayed by the Government is recovered from the students by way of charges. Now this is the only benefit which the Government gives to the students.

This is not a public office or a public institution, so to say, it is just a commercial concern.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Certainly not.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—And all the charges are recovered from the students.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—I am sorry, I too disagree.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Almost all the recurring charges.

Deputy President.—It is not at all intended for a profit.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Of course the object is to make the students at home and to provide all con-

venience for them.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Not to sell the rice.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—If the students have got their own houses, nobody would go to these hostels at all. It is not a public institution, so to say, like the Law Courts and schools. In public institutions like the courts and schools no question of caste or religion, custom or usage arises. For the appointment of a judicial officer you need not inquire to what caste he belongs or what custom or religious usages he practises. He must administer justice in the best manner possible. That is the only criterion there. But in the matter of hostels, students have to live there, they have to say their prayers there, they have to take their meals and a number of things. All these things have to be done in the hostels. So, the whole life of the student is in the hostel. After being in the hostel for nearly 8 or 9 months in the year, he has to go home. He has to conform to the practices and habits which he has been doing at home in the hostel also. Now he has to say his prayers in the hostels as well as at home. In all these matters it is quite essential that students should conform to their habits and religious usages while in hostels as well as at home. Now, if we have only one religion, there is no necessity for different hostels. I may make it very clear that I have absolutely no objection to the existence of cosmopolitan hostels. Only, side by side, for those who have objections to cosmopolitan hostels other hostels may be provided. All these differences have to be minimised; there is not much objection to that. But to destroy all these hostels and substitute cosmopolitan hostels instead will certainly land us in a very difficult position. The differences between the several communities are not going to be in any way lessened but on the other hand are likely to be aggravated. Now the resolution, as it stands, does not speak anything about the boarding or dining. It says that hostels have to be established on cosmopolitan lines. It would go to mean that boarding and dining....

Mr. C. J. Mathew.—I never meant that. There may be different messes and different kitchens. Only living may be together.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—In this matter, I may bring to the notice of the House that the Hon'ble Member for Trippunittura was saying when the resolution on tanks and wells was being discussed that equal opportunities should be given to all castes and communities but not necessarily sameness of opportunities.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—I stick to that even now.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—That is to say, if two or three communities of different usages and religion cannot be grouped together in one particular hostel, Government should not compel them to live together but equal convenience should be given to all. A Hindu hostel may be provided for caste-Hindus, a Christian hostel for Christians and a cosmopolitan or a non-caste—Hindu hostel may also be provided. Otherwise Government would be denying the privilege of a hostel to the communities who cannot, in strict conformity, to their religion, customs and manners, go and live with the other communities.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—How do the Brahmins live in the Victoria Hostel?

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—There is a possibility of the College being shifted to Anappara. It is a place where nobody has got residential quarters and there are very few houses there, and, therefore, people will have to depend upon the hostel and hostel alone; and if a cosmopolitan hostel alone is established, there would be no opportunity for people who have objections to this to go to private hotels because there are no private hotels and they will be put to very great difficulties. On these grounds my submission is that the Government should, as far as possible, give all sorts of convenience to people of all classes.

Again, while the advocates of cosmopolitan hostels want to do away with communal differences, at the same time, they want to perpetuate these communal differences in the matter of recruitment to public services and other things, such as, nomination to Panchayats, election and nomination of Members to this Council, etc. So these communal differences are being perpetuated. We have got separate constituencies for the backward classes. The Muslims and non-Brahmins want reserved seats in the Councils of British India. All these are attempts to perpetuate communal differences. In respect of Membership to this Council or the Panchayats and the recruitments to public services, there should be absolutely no question of religion or caste or community or religious usage or anything of the kind. Even there, this reservation of certain seats to members of certain communities is insisted upon. Here, in the case of hostels, where the question of community and religious usage does arise, what they say is that all these should be cosmopolitan hostels. My submission is that this is blowing hot and cold in the same breath. On these grounds I oppose this resolution. There was a similar resolution in the last Council and that resolution was amended so as to give separate board-

ing and dining to different communities.

Deputy President.—Even now they do not insist on having those things together.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Even there it was strongly opposed by certain Members. My submission is that this resolution has been brought not out of any necessity and not with any sincere object of doing away with communal differences but to perpetuate them as far as possible. All these differences can be rounded off gradually, but the method of work to be adopted is quite different from that which is being advocated now.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—Sir, I rise to support this resolution. Although I have the honour in this House to represent constituency which has been alleged to be reactionary and orthodox, I take leave of that alleged representative character to give expression to what I personally feel in the matter. (*Hear, hear.*) The principle of the resolution is that, wherever public money is spent, such institutions should be thrown open to all, and I have tried my best to give practical application to that principle on various occasions in this very Council. If anybody has wrongly thought I was not serious on such occasions, I am only sorry, and I take this opportunity to affirm once more my faith in this principle. I have no doubt this Council being only a deliberative body we have to take leave of the existing conditions of society and as far as possible aim to achieve a progressive ideal and leave the Government to find proper solution of the practical difficulties in the application of this principle. That is the reason why I am voting for this resolution. I know there are difficulties, and we will leave the Government as administrators to face these difficulties which will be from the hands of those who cannot come up to our ideal. No doubt the wide principle that, wherever public money is spent, such institutions should be thrown open to all is not followed in practice even by other Governments. For instance, we find the Government of India spending large sums of money on the Ecclesiastical Department. This ecclesiastical expenditure is no doubt an historical accident. When the East India Company was carrying on trade, the Company had their own churches and the expenses of the churches were met by the Company, but when administration passed into the hands of the Company in exchange for commerce these churches also became part of the Government, and that is how it now happens that money is spent on churches by the Government. In British India almost all the political leaders have been fighting against that expenditure on churches

though the Government persistently by refuses to give way. But I think the principle is all right, and as I said, there will be difficulties; but we have to overcome these and as councillors we have to set up a better ideal. That is I make clear why I vote for this resolution.

There are only two matters specifically covered by the resolution. One is with regard to the roads and the other the hostels. There are only two roads now not opened to the public which are the Trippunittura Fort road and the road in front of the Irinjalakkuda temple. So far as the Trippunittura Fort road is concerned, I think it is more or less for the convenience of the members of the Royal Family that all people are not given free access. I should think, if the members of the Royal Family want this to be restricted, it is not fair for this Council to press that part of the resolution. But, so far as the other road is concerned, I am in absolute sympathy with the resolution. And I have personally no objection for its being thrown open if you spend a single pie on it from the public purse. With regard to the hostels, if you will look to the Proceedings of the last Council, even in the year 1101 I moved an amendment to start hostels on cosmopolitan character with separate kitchens and Mr. Raman's resolution as amended by me was carried in the last Council, and in my native place the first experiment was started by the Government in this matter. Of course, in these matters all the people may not make a move and may take objections. We have to follow in this respect the noble example set by His Highness the present Maharaja. His Highness the Maharaja has taken a very bold move in sending His Highness' nephew to foreign countries and on foreign travels. This is a great violation from an orthodox point of view. His Highness did not yield and has not yet yielded to the clamour of the orthodox section, and it is my firm belief that we, the loyal subjects, must co-operate with His Highness in spite of the various difficulties that may stand in the way (*hear, hear,*) and which may be created by people who may not be able to follow conscientiously our ideals. (*Hear, hear.*) It is for these reasons that I am going to support this resolution. I am perfectly conscious of the difficulties in the practical working, but I am sure all the Members will follow a policy of 'give and take' in this matter. With these words, I once more affirm my conviction in the justice of the cause underlying the purport of the resolution. We are progressing towards unity. In the eyes of God there is no difference between man and man. The society has created differences out of reasons historical and accidental and our attempt should be to remove all irksome restrictions.

മിസ്റ്റർ ഔസേപ്പ് പി. കുണ്ടുകുളം, ഞാൻ ഈ സെക്ഷൻ പരിപാടിയിൽ ഇത് ആദ്യം കണ്ടപ്പോൾ ഞാൻ ക്ലോസ് ചെയ്യണമെന്നാണ് വിചാരിച്ചത്. എന്നാൽ അതിൽ പിന്നെ അതിൽ വരുത്തിയ മാറ്റങ്ങൾകൊണ്ട് അതു ആകെ ഒന്നുനന്നായി കളം, കിണറ, മുതലായവയുടെ സംഗതിയിൽ ഞാൻ ക്ലോസ് ചെയ്യാണുണ്ടായത്. കളം, കിണറ മുതലായവയിൽ മേന്മയായ സാധനങ്ങൾ അധികരിച്ചുവെക്കുന്നതിന്നു സംഗതിവന്നാൽ ചുറ്റും രോഗങ്ങളുടെ കാരണങ്ങളാകുന്നതാണ്. ഈ വിഷയം അങ്ങനെയല്ല. ഇവിടെ പബ്ലിക് പണം കൊണ്ടുണ്ടാക്കിയിട്ടുള്ള പബ്ലിക് റോഡുകളിൽ എല്ലാവർക്കും നടക്കുവാൻ അനുവാദം കൊടുക്കേണ്ടത് അത്യാവശ്യം ആകുന്നു. ഈ പ്രമേയം പാസാക്കുന്നതിനാൽ ഈ ക്യാബിനറ്റ്, പ്രോവൈൻസ് ഈ വക സംഗതികൾ വർദ്ധിച്ചുവരികയും തന്നെ മാത്രം സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യ ശക്തി പ്രജകളിൽ വർദ്ധിച്ചു വെക്കുമെന്നു അതിയായ ശക്തികൾ നേരിടുമോ എന്നു ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ശങ്കിക്കുന്നുണ്ടോ? അവലക്ഷ്യപ്പെടുകയെടുത്താൽ, അവയിൽ ആരാധാപ്രാൻ മതാചാരംകൊണ്ടു അനുവദിച്ചുള്ളവരെ മുഴുവൻ അനുവദിക്കുക; അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് പണം അവയ്ക്കു എടുക്കാതെ തരിക. ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ സമ്പ്രദായം ഒട്ടും വെട്ടില്ല. പരിഷ്കാരവും സമത്വവും വർദ്ധിച്ചുവരുന്ന സ്ഥിതിക്കു ഇതു വളരെ പൊട്ടിയായതാണ് എന്നിങ്ങനെയോ. ഈ വക അനാവശ്യമായ ഭൂസ്ത്രോധനകൾ മൂലം മനുഷ്യനെ മനുഷ്യനെന്നുള്ള വിചാരമില്ലാതെ വെറുത്തു പറയുന്നതു കേട്ടാൽ സാഹോദര്യം, സ്നേഹം മുതലായവ നശിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞുവോ എന്നുതന്നെ തോന്നിപ്പോകുന്നുണ്ടാമതു ഹോസ്റ്റൽ—ഇതിന്റെകാലം ഗവണ്മെന്റ് നോക്കിത്തുടങ്ങുന്നു, നോക്കിത്തുടങ്ങുന്നു എന്നു പറയുന്നതല്ലാതെ യാതൊന്നുമില്ല. ശരിയായ മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങളിൽ കൂടി കട്ടകളെ പരമയച്ചിക്കാത്താൽ കട്ടകൾ വളർന്നുപോകുന്നതു വരുമ്പോഴേക്കു അവരിൽ ചീത്ത വരുത്തുകയും വളർന്നുവരുന്നു. അതിനെ കളയണം. അതിനാണ് അവർ ഒരുമിച്ചു വരികയെന്നു പറയുന്നത്. അതുകൊണ്ടുതന്നെ കളയും ഉടനേ തുടങ്ങണം. അരമിനിറ്റി ഇനി കളയുവാൻ പാടില്ല. പൊതു ഹോസ്റ്റലിനു വലിയ കെട്ടിടം വിട്ടുകൊടുക്കരുതേ? കുന്നുകളെ പരിക്ഷിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്—ആ കുന്നിന്റെ മുകളിൽ—ഇവിടെ സ്ഥലമില്ല. സെൻറിമെന്ററു പറയുന്ന മനോഹരങ്ങളെ ഇവിടെ ഇതിന്നു വിരോധമാണ് എന്നൊക്കെയാണ് പറയുന്നത്. ഇതുകൊണ്ടാണു ഫലമില്ല. വലിയ കെട്ടിടം പൊതു ഹോസ്റ്റലിനും ചെറിയ കെട്ടിടം മനോഹരങ്ങളെക്കൊണ്ട് വിട്ടുകൊടുക്കുക. എന്നാൽ വലിയ കെട്ടിടത്തിൽ കട്ടകൾ വന്നുകൂടും

ചെറിയതിൽ കുറിയുകയും ചെയ്യും. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഹോസ്റ്റലുകളെ പ്ലാം പൊതുവേ തുറക്കേണ്ടതും അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള സൗകര്യം എല്ലാ കുട്ടികൾക്കും കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതും ആണ്. ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഗവണ്മെന്റ് മത സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം എല്ലാവർക്കും കൊടുക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു ഒരു മെമ്പർ ഇവിടെ പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. ഇവിടെ ആരേയും അന്യമതത്തിൽ കൂട്ടുവാൻ നിബ്ബന്ധിക്കേണ്ട. മനുഷ്യർ തമ്മിലുള്ള ആ മേൽമതപം വാടുകളുണ്ടാൽമതി. ഗവണ്മെന്റ് പണംകൊണ്ടു നടത്തുന്ന എല്ലാ സ്ഥലങ്ങളേയും—റോഡുകളുടേയും ഹോസ്റ്റലുകളുടേയും കാര്യത്തിൽ യാതൊരു ഭയയുമില്ല—ഉടനടി സർവ്വതരേയും ഉപയോഗത്തിന്നു തുറന്നു കൊടുക്കേണമെന്നാണ് എന്റെ അപേക്ഷ.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—Sir, I rise to support this resolution, and, in doing so, I do not wish to make a long speech. I would request the Government to open the Maharaja's College hostel to all classes by the beginning of next year. Now the Colleges are closed and they can do it in the next year. Resolutions have been passed before one or two years. Public opinion is for it, and I do not think that Government is going to stand in the way of the public in this matter.

മിസ്റ്റർ എ. കെ. കണ്ണുമൊയ്തീൻ—ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നു. ചെറുതുരുത്തി മെമ്പർ ഭയപ്പെട്ടതുപോലെ, ഇതിൽ ആരുടേയും മതസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തിന്നു ഭംഗംവരുന്ന യാതൊന്നും കാണുന്നില്ല. പൊതു മുതൽകൊണ്ടുണ്ടാക്കായിരിക്കുന്ന റോഡ്, ഹോസ്റ്റൽ മുതലായവ എല്ലാവർക്കും ഒരുപോലെ ഉപയോഗപ്രദമായായിരിക്കണം. റോഡിൽകൂടി നടക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു ആരാധനക്ക് യാതൊരു വിധത്തിലും തടസ്സമുണ്ടാകുന്നതല്ല. മുസൽമാൻ പള്ളികളുടെ മുമ്പിൽകൂടി നടക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു വടക്കെ ഇന്ത്യയിലും മറ്റും ലഹളകൾ ഉണ്ടാകുന്നുവെന്ന പ്രസ്തുത മെമ്പർ പറഞ്ഞത് ശരിയല്ല. പ്രാർത്ഥന സമയങ്ങളിൽ വാദ്യഘോഷങ്ങളോടുകൂടി പള്ളികളുടെ മുമ്പിൽകൂടി പോയാൽ ഏകാഗ്രചിത്തതയോടുകൂടി പ്രാർത്ഥിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കാതെ വരുന്നതുകൊണ്ടാണ് മുസൽമാന്മാർ അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഘോഷയാത്രകളെ ചെറുക്കുന്നത്. പബ്ലിക് റോഡുകളിൽ എല്ലാജാതിക്കാർക്കും ഒരുപോലെ നടന്നുകൂടാത്തതായുള്ള അവസ്ഥ അസംബന്ധവും അമാനുഷികവുമാണ്. പൊതു വിദ്യാർത്ഥിമന്ദിരങ്ങളിൽ താമസിക്കുന്ന വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്ക് സൗഹൃദം, സാഹോദര്യം, സമതപം ആദിയായ വിശിഷ്ടഗുണങ്ങൾ വർദ്ധിക്കുവാനിടയുണ്ട്. പൊതു വിദ്യാർത്ഥിമന്ദിരങ്ങളിൽ താമസിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു ഒന്നിച്ചു ഉണ്ണ് കഴിക്കണമെന്നില്ല. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള കാര്യങ്ങൾ ഓരോരുത്തരുടേയും സൗകര്യം പോലെയാകാവുന്നതാണ്. അതിലേക്ക് വേണ്ടസൗകര്യങ്ങൾ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ചെയ്യുകൊടുക്കണം. ഒരു വിദ്യാർത്ഥി ഒട്ടേറുമാസം പൊതുവിദ്യാർത്ഥി

മന്ദിരത്തിലും ബാക്കിയുള്ള കാലം തന്റെ വീട്ടിലും താമസിക്കേണ്ടിവരുന്നതുകൊണ്ട് അയാളുടെ മതാചാരങ്ങൾക്കും മതവിശ്വാസങ്ങൾക്കും ഭംഗം നേരിടുമെന്ന ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ചെറുതുരുത്തി മെമ്പർ പറഞ്ഞത് സ്വീകാര്യമല്ല. വ്യവസ്ഥിതവും സംഘടിതവുമായ ഒരു പൊതു വിദ്യാർത്ഥി മന്ദിരത്തിൽ താമസിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ട് ഭിന്നജാതിക്കാരായ വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്ക് അനുകരണീയവും ശ്രേഷ്ഠമായ പലഗുണങ്ങളും അന്യോന്യം കണ്ടുപഠിക്കുവാനും അനുഷ്ഠിക്കുവാനുമാണ് സൗകര്യം ലഭിക്കുന്നത്. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർ ഈ ദൃശ്യകാര്യങ്ങളുടെ ഒരു വശം മാത്രമേ ആലോചിക്കുന്നുള്ളൂ. മറുവശത്തേക്ക് തിരിഞ്ഞു നോക്കിയാൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ വാദങ്ങൾ ഏതുപക്ഷത്തെ സഹായിക്കുകയാണ് ചെയ്യുന്നതെന്നു മനസ്സിലാക്കം. ഈ സംഗതികളുടെ ആവശ്യത്തേയും ഗുണത്തേയും പറ്റി സമഗ്രവും അവസ്ഥയും അറിഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടും ഇവിടെചെയ്ത പ്രസംഗങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നു എത്ര ശക്തിയായി ജനങ്ങൾ ഇതിനെ പിന്തുടരുന്നുവെന്ന് റിയുവാൻ സാധിച്ചു. വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾ തന്നെ അവരുടെ സമ്മതത്തെ വെളിപ്പെടുത്തി കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ട്. രക്ഷകർത്താക്കന്മാരും അനുകൂലികളാണെന്നറിയുന്നു. ഇനിയൊക്കെത്തന്നെ നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുവാൻ ഗവണ്മെന്റിനു സന്നദ്ധസ്സുണ്ടാകുകമാത്രമേ ആവശ്യമുള്ളൂ. ഈ പ്രമേയത്തിനു മറുഭുട്ട പ്രമേയങ്ങളുടെ ഗതിതന്നെ വരുത്താതെ ഇതിനെ അംഗീകരിച്ചു ഉടൻ നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുവാൻ ഗവണ്മെന്റിനു ദയവുണ്ടാകണമെന്നുമാത്രമേ എനിക്കു് ഈ വിഷയകമായി ഇനിയുണ്ടാവാനുള്ളൂ.

Mrs. G. Pavitran.—If my memory does not deceive me, I think this is the third or the fourth time that this resolution is coming up in this House for discussion. And on all these occasions men have made their opinion on this matter very clear. And I now stand here to voice the opinion of the women of this State who, I am proud to say, are unanimous on this question of the establishment of cosmopolitan hostels. (*Hear, hear.*) You will find a resolution being tabled by me to this effect and in tabling this resolution I had behind me the kind and wholehearted support of the women of this State. As a matter of fact, I have been particularly requested by them to move that resolution. Of the propriety of opening cosmopolitan hostels here, I am not going to dwell at length because I reserve all my remarks for my resolution. Why, the Government itself has expressed its view in this matter. It has said that it is in favour of it, and as a standing monument to this fact we have at Kunnampkulam a cosmopolitan hostel opened as an experimental measure, which, I hear, is flourishing very well. If, in a conservative place like Kunnampkulam, a cosmopolitan hostel can flourish, I think we

can safely predict a brilliant future for a cosmopolitan hostel here at Ernakulam, where the demand for it has been so very great and where the people have been clamouring for it times without end, and where, I may also add, the people are more advanced to accept the same. I do not know if the Government are aware of the fact that a cosmopolitan hostel is in existence here even now. I mean the hostel run by the local St. Teresa's Convent College. You will find there not only Christians and non-caste-Hindus but you will find caste-Hindus as well residing there. Not only are there caste-Hindu students, but there are also caste-Hindu professors residing there and they are all getting on harmoniously without any sort of discord. In the face of this, if the Government again and again say that they cannot, on account of certain sentiment or I do not know what, open a cosmopolitan hostel all on a sudden, what are we people to infer from it? So, to save itself from this predicament, I would request the Government that, as early as possible, it may be pleased to take steps to bring this resolution into working order. Perhaps it may be due to the fact that the Government were not aware of the opinion of the women population, which, I may say, constitute half its population, that it might have been reluctant in taking such a step so long. Now that Government is in the know of the opinion of the women population also, I would most respectfully request the Government not to delay this matter any longer, but to do all it can to bring it into working order as early as possible.

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—Sir, I hope the House will pardon me if I open my remarks by requesting the House to atone for the sin committed in the morning in wasting two precious hours over the most acrimonious and at the same time supremely fruitless discussion, by passing this resolution unanimously. Now, I do not wish to go into the arguments, the pros and cons on the subject, because they have been heard in this Hall *ad nauseam* so much so that we have got the clearest assurance from the Hon'ble Member for Education on the other side that the principle is accepted by the Government, and the only thing that stands in the way of enforcing or enacting the principle is some little difficulty about the kitchen or something of the kind.

Deputy President.—About expenditure.

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—Expenditure, I believe, is only with reference to the kitchen.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—And the dining hall.

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—Anyhow it is only about the kitchen and the dining hall. Now, it is a fact that in the only

place where this was tried there are only two kitchens and two dining halls.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Is it a fact?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matt hai.—Yes.

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—It is a fact and I have seen it. We have already a capacious dining hall and capacious kitchen and the accommodation or the spaciousness of the kitchen and the dining hall is proportionate to the accommodation available in the hostel. Therefore, for the number that can be accommodated certainly there is accommodation both in the kitchen as well as in the dining hall. It is only part of that number which will have to be separately provided for, which separation can be effected by partition in the existing hall, or if that is not possible, something similar or proportionate to the number required may have to be put up as adjoining buildings. With regard to the expenses and the difficulty of putting it up, I have full confidence in the ability of the Public Works Department to do the thing in no time or with the smallest possible time. A Department which can convert 80 or 90 thousands of rupees in the record time of 10 or 12 months into bricks and mortar can very well utilise two or three thousand rupees within a month or two which is perhaps the time available before the reopening of the colleges. Therefore, there is no meaning in our discussing this question much longer, because once the principle is accepted, the only other thing that remains is to see to the ways of circumventing any difficulty in practice. As this is the only difficulty pointed out, and also when it can be overcome within a short time and with minimum cost, certainly it is high time for the Government to step in and solve the problem. With regard to other arguments, based on sentiment, there is no meaning because we know what exists elsewhere, both in the neighbouring State of Travancore as well as in Madras and other places. Therefore, as we are familiar with these facts, it is no use wasting our time by discussing these points. As I said before, we have wasted two precious hours of the morning with no benefit whatever and let us at least atone that waste of time by passing this resolution unanimously.

Mr. A. S. Harihara Ayyar.—I rise to oppose the resolution. So far as roads are concerned, the caste-Hindus have so framed their minds that they are following a give and take policy, that is, if at all they want to keep up untouchability or unapproachability generally, they never at present show it, when they go out in the roads. If they want to keep up to their sentiments when they go home, they take their baths and perform their *pooja* and take their meals. As far as roads are concerned, it may be thrown open to all. When the question of hostel comes, if the present caste-Hindus will live with other caste persons in a cosmopolitan way in their private abodes, then the same ma

also be tried in the hostels. Until then we must not play with the youngsters. It is very bad policy to play with youngsters. I say it is a play with youngsters simply because even students, who have come out of the Victoria Hostel, soon after they come out, leave off all their cosmopolitan way they have been following in the Victoria Hostel and submit themselves to their private and usual ways of doing.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—They can do that here also.

Mr. A. S. Harihara Ayyar.—Though the Lady Member was bold enough to say that the opinion of the women of the State was in favour of this, I strongly say the women of the State are the most conservative in all these matters, and I doubt whether the Member, who is after all a Government nominee, does represent the voice of the women of the State.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—This is the conservative opinion of the women.

Mr. C. J. Mathew.—Even conservative opinion is for cosmopolitan hostel.

Mr. A. S. Harihara Ayyar.—Certainly not. I doubt the correctness of the view. If the Government has the power to arrange for a cosmopolitan way of living for all people of the State, then I would say that the hostels may also be thrown open. Otherwise this is a high penalty that the caste-Hindus have to pay. Because they want to get education and go to schools, and the College is going to be shifted to Anappara, and if it is so ruled that all outsiders should live in the hostel alone, they may have to go in for this hostel and adopt a cosmopolitan way of doing things simply for that education which I have been condemning throughout as a useless sort of education, and yet people have a mania to go in for the same. I have been submitting like this ever since I came to the Council regarding the present mode of imparting education, and I am not going to withdraw my statement. As such no resolution ought to be passed to the prejudice of the existing customs of the State.

Deputy President.—That is not the question under consideration now.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthal.—I shall be very brief, Sir. We, on the Government side, have listened with great interest and appreciation to the views expressed by non-official Members. But I have to point out that even Members who spoke in favour of the resolution were not unanimous as regards the nature of the suggestions they made. For instance, certain Members said they did not require all hostels to be cosmopolitan, but the resolution as it now stands wants all hostels and all roads to be included. What I want to bring to the notice of the House is that even Members who have supported the resolution disagree among themselves.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—No, no.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—The Member for Mulkunnathukavu said that he did not want all hostels to be made cosmopolitan and he said that he would reserve a few so that, even if the resolution is to be passed, I think it is not going to be passed in the form it is placed before the House. As I said at the outset, we do not see our way to accept the resolution in its entirety. There are practical difficulties to be considered; and after all the difference between Government and Members who have spoken on the other side is not on vital matters. As regards the conversion of the hostels at Ernakulam some are of opinion that the whole thing could be done in 2 months' time. These things have got to be looked into. So that, as regards time we are not in a position to commit ourselves. We started hostels here even before they were started in Madras and Travancore.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—No, no. Mr. Bhore laid the foundation stone of this hostel. I went to Madras during the time of Diwan Sir Rajagopalachari and then there was the Victoria Hostel. Supposing we started the hostel first and we started it on cosmopolitan line, we would have no hostel problem now. If we have now hostels, it is due to the fact that Government was prepared to look to public sentiment to that extent, rather than have no hostels. It is better that we have some hostels and concede to the sentiment of the people. So we don't condemn the Government outright. And then the question is, whether we are to convert these hostels in Ernakulam straightway to cosmopolitan hostels, now or not. It is not because Government is opposed to it; for the question of accommodation and other things are being gone into by the University Commission and we expect them to make certain observations about the insufficiency of accommodation. The Government say it has already decided to shift the College to Anappara and so we do not intend to put up any permanent buildings here. If any additional accommodation is wanted, we are going to make that by temporary sheds. So, I think it is in the fitness of things for us to reduce the expenditure as much as possible. Now you know the attitude of Government. After all, it is only a question of a short period of time.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Are you going to deprive Ernakulam of any College?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—That is a question that has got to be decided. Anyhow there will be a High School. And a High School does not require a hostel. Supposing the Government had decided that the College should remain at Ernakulam, then I say the question would be approached in an

entirely different manner, and any amount of money spent for the accommodation of our boys, for money spent upon the accommodation of our students will not be a waste. But the real situation is different. The Government have decided once for all to shift the College to Anappara so that we have got to minimise the expenditure on buildings at Ernakulam.

We do not know the number of students that are going to seek admission into a cosmopolitan hostel at Ernakulam, and as regards residential accommodation, messing, etc., we cannot make necessary arrangements unless we have some idea of the number of students. All these details have got to be looked into, and if we do not accept in its entirety the resolution that is placed before the House, it is for these reasons.

We want to know the attitude of the House. One or two Members accused Government of being retrograde and obstructive, and so on. I think no one who looks at the policy of Government during the past so many years in these matters can rightly bring this charge against Government, of being either retrograde or obstructive. The Member for Jews said that Government are to lead and Government should adopt a courageous policy. So far as I understand it, I would say Government should lead if it is sure to be followed. There is no use in Government leading if the people will not follow. An individual can lead like that. There is no necessity for him to look back. But when a Government leads, it must not be solitary. Whenever it takes a step forward, it must see that the body politic is following. That is why I stated that Government should march with the times. I was speaking of the past and not of the present. Supposing we had then started a hostel on cosmopolitan lines, we would have been leading without a following.

Mr. C. J. Mathew.—What is the time-limit for shifting the College to Anappara?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—I cannot commit myself.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—Are they sure that they are now followed?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—It must be seen by the voting in the House.

Question proposed: "That the resolution, that 'this Council recommends to the Government that all hostels and roads maintained by public money be thrown open to all classes of His Highness' subjects without difference of caste or creed' be passed by the House".

Question put and agreed to, Government opposing it.

Mr. C. J. Mathew.—We want a poll, Sir.

The House divided: Ayes 20 and Noes 13.

Ayes.

Noes.

- 1 Mr. I. E. Ambooken
- 2 „ K. J. Antony
- 3 „ K. Ayyappan
- 4 „ C. Barton Wright
- 5 „ M. A. Chakko
- 6 „ P. C. Chanchan
- 7 „ K. P. Kannan Nayar
- 8 „ P. Krishna Menon
- 9 „ T. K. Nayar
- 10 „ P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan
- 11 „ A. K. Kunhi Moideen
- 12 „ C. J. Mathew
- 13 „ K. T. Mathew
- 14 „ K. Mohamed Seethi
- 15 „ V. D. Ouseph
- 16 „ M. K. Raman
- 17 Dr. A. R. Menon
- 18 Mr. A. B. Salem
- 19 „ Thomas Manjuran
- 20 Dr. E. A. Veigas

- 1 Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar
- 2 „ C. V. Antony
- 3 „ V. K. Aravindaksha Menon
- 4 „ K. Govinda Menon
- 5 „ A. S. Harihara Ayyar
- 6 „ U. Kandar Menon
- 7 „ T. K. Krishna Menon
- 8 „ T. M. Krishna Menon
- 9 „ K. Krishna Pisharodi
- 10 Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai
- 11 „ I. Raman Menon
- 12 „ A. Sankara Menon
- 13 Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese

II. T. D. High School, Mattancheri.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Sir, I rise to move the resolution which reads as follows:—

“This Council recommends to the Government to withhold the recognition of and grant-in-aid allowed to the T. D. High School, Mattancheri, which does not admit Ezhuvas, Arayans, Pulayans, etc.”

എന്ന ക്ഷിപ്ര നിർദ്ദേശം ഗവണ്മെന്റ് മേലാൽ എടുത്തുവെക്കുവാൻ പോകുന്നുവെന്നറിഞ്ഞാൽ കൊള്ളാം.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—I beg to second it.

ഡെപ്യൂട്ടി പ്രസിഡൻ്റ്.—സെക്കന്റുമായ സ്ഥലം അന്വേഷിച്ചു കിട്ടാത്തതിനാലാണ് പറഞ്ഞുവെച്ചത്.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—As regards the withdrawal of recognition of the T. D. High School, Mattancheri, Government are not prepared to take that extreme step. The T. D. High School gives instruction to more than 1,000 pupils, and the difficulty about admitting certain castes is due to the fact that there is a temple very near the High School. We cannot, in the present financial position of the Devaswam, reasonably compel them to shift the school to another place and erect new buildings for it. And, therefore, if we withdraw the recognition of the school, it would only mean that we shall be depriving Mattancheri of the only High School which is there now. I remember when these difficulties were represented to me I approached the Chairman of the Mattancheri Municipal Council